

# THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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## EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO THE WEST INDIES.

THE papers recently laid before Parliament, by Her Majesty's command, relative to African emigration, fully develop the plan of the noble Lord the Secretary for the Colonies, for the supply of the West Indies with labourers from the West Coast of Africa. As the bare analysis of these documents would occupy the whole of the *Reporter*, we must confine ourselves, in the present Number, to the mere exposition of his views and intentions in relation to this important subject, which are embodied in two despatches, one to Governor MACDONALD, of Sierra Leone; and the other, a Circular to the Governors of the West India colonies generally. In the first, which is dated the 6th February, 1843, the noble Lord unfolds his scheme, the general features of which are as follows:—

All vessels carrying emigrants from the West Coast of Africa to the West Indies, at the expense of the respective colonies, shall in future be under the management of Government officers, and either chartered by the Government, or specially licensed for the purpose by the Secretary of State. In the first instance, the only colonies to which the emigration so managed will be directed are, Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, money having already been provided by their respective legislatures applicable to defraying the expense of immigration; but on proper provision being made by other West India colonies, they will be included in the scheme. To insure similarity of practice in regard to all matters connected with emigration, it will be required of the legislature of each West India colony comprehended, or which may wish to be comprehended, in the scheme, to adopt respectively laws upon the subject containing provisions in accordance with recommendations which will be submitted to them by my authority.

The only places from which emigrants will at present be taken are, Sierra Leone, Bovisito, and Loando, the two latter being places at which Mixed Commission Courts have been established under the late treaty with Portugal.

As Governor of Sierra Leone, you will cause it to be publicly notified that emigrant vessels will for the future sail periodically from that colony, under the direct management of Her Majesty's Government.

With regard to the collection and the superintendence of the embarkation of emigrants, the same system which was established by Lord John Russell will be continued, *viz.*, that agents, or an agent, will be employed by the West Indian colonies for the purpose of collecting persons who may be disposed to emigrate, and may answer the descriptions required, such agents to be under the control of the Governors of colonies by which they are employed, though also liable to be suspended for misconduct by the Governor of Sierra Leone, and to be prohibited from entering into specific engagements for any exact amount of wages, or doing more than stating the substance of the latest official returns respecting the average rates in each colony. These agents, for distinction, may be called Colonial Agents.

The embarkation of emigrants will continue to be superintended, as at present, by an agent to be appointed by yourself. He will of course be relieved from that part of his present duty which relates to the inspection of vessels, that responsibility being assumed directly by Her Majesty's Government. It will, however, rest with him to regulate, under your directions, the order of precedence of sailing of vessels employed by Government under the new system, and, as before, to ascertain that all persons embark with their complete free consent, that they have been the requisite time in the colony, that they have been examined by the surgeon, that the proper proportion of sexes is observed, and, in short, that the regulations applicable are strictly attended to. For distinction sake, this officer may be termed the Government Agent.

The plan has been first put into operation by engaging, in this country, one vessel for the service of each of the colonies named, which will be paid for exclusively by such colony. These vessels will return to Sierra Leone as soon as they have landed the emigrants, and it is intended that they shall perform as many voyages in the year as may be practicable under the established regulations. On board each vessel is placed—first, a lieutenant of the navy, under whose general directions the ship will sail, and will consequently carry a transport pennant,—and, secondly, a surgeon of the navy, who will examine the emigrants before embarkation, to ascertain the fact of their being in good bodily health, and have the medical charge of them during the voyage.

Although these vessels, collectively, are calculated to carry annually a number exceeding by one-third the total number who emigrated during the last year from Sierra Leone, Her Majesty's Government are aware that the numbers which could be thus conveyed would be inadequate to confer any sensible benefit on the West India colonies, and that these vessels must therefore be regarded rather as the means of promoting emigration by the facilities which they will afford for inter-communication, than as themselves affording adequate provision for carrying it on. If emigration is to be increased to any considerable extent, additional tonnage will of course be required.

With this purpose, should it be found necessary, other vessels, supplementary to those directly chartered by the Government, will be permitted to proceed to the ports above enumerated, and carry from thence emigrants who could not be accommodated in the regular packets, their passages being in like manner defrayed by the respective colonies, and the vessels (on board each of which a Government agent, probably a surgeon-

superintendent, will be placed) being subject to the same regulations as those permanently chartered.

I have carefully considered, in conjunction with the leading West India merchants, how far it might be expedient at present to bring into operation that part of the plan which provides for such additional tonnage, and I concur with them in considering it more prudent, in the first instance, not to add very largely to the accommodation provided by the permanent vessels, until time shall have been allowed to ascertain the effects of the confidence which it is expected that the return of these vessels will produce on the minds of the African population.

On the arrival of the emigrants in the West Indies, they will be received by the Government Immigration agent for the colony to which they go. He will ascertain that the people brought correspond with the list of persons made out by the superintending agents, or other officer appointed at the port of emigration, and he will take the necessary measures for landing them, or taking charge of them on board until they can have an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the nature of the offers of wages and advantages which may be open to them. When landed, they will be entirely free to adopt any course they may consider most for their own advantage, no contract made by them out of the colony being permitted to be of any validity whatever as against them, and the duration of any contract made in the colony being limited to the period of one year.

A constant communication between Africa and the West Indies being kept up by means of the vessels chartered by Government, free passages backwards and forwards will be given in them to any persons acting as delegates, who will carry back to Sierra Leone information respecting the West India colonies, upon which it is likely reliance will be placed by persons of the labouring class. To all other emigrants taken from the coast of Africa, who will of course be at liberty at any period to leave the colony at their own expense, it is intended, as soon as the necessary legislative provisions can be made, that passages back to Sierra Leone shall be granted, at a rate proportionable to the period of their residence in the West Indies, during the first five years after their landing in the colony to which they have emigrated; and after the expiration of five years (if they have not been across in the interim) it is intended that a free passage shall be given on demand, provided the demand be made within a time, to be limited, after the date at which the five years shall have expired. The different legislatures will be called upon to take steps for insuring the free passage back, including those who may arrive by the first vessels; and in the mean time the emigrants must proceed, in this respect, under the conditions of the bounty system. Persons who may have crossed in the interim as delegates will equally be entitled, at the expiration of the five years, to a free passage back.

In the arrangements connected with the ship, and the number of passengers in proportion to the tonnage and superficies of the deck, all the regulations of the Passengers' Act will be required to be strictly complied with.

In concluding his remarks, the noble Lord strongly impresses upon the Governor of Sierra Leone the necessity of exercising the strictest superintendence over the working of the whole system, and adds, "I need scarcely remind you that it is due to those, who, it is hoped, will avail themselves of the opportunities offered for emigration, that every precaution should be adopted which can be devised for the prevention of improper practices; but I must add, that it is not the less important to those who hope to benefit by an influx of such immigrants, that the system should be free from even the suspicion of abuse; its very existence will be made to depend upon the purity of the character which it maintains."

In the Circular despatch to the Governors of all the West India colonies, dated the 25th February, 1843, the noble Lord observes:

That in accordance with the views of the two Committees of the House of Commons, which sat last session to inquire,—the one into the state of the West India Colonies, the other into that of the British possessions on the West Coast of Africa,—Her Majesty's Government have undertaken the superintendence of emigration from that coast to the British West Indies. The plan adopted, you will perceive, is, in substance, that, without interfering with the bounty system already in force in some colonies, no emigration from the coast of Africa shall be permitted, or at least paid for by public funds, except through the intervention of Her Majesty's Government, by whom is to be determined how the service is to be carried on, and in what manner and at what rate payment is to be made for the performance of it. As a commencement of the plan, Her Majesty's Government have chartered three vessels, which, during the next twelve months, will effect as many voyages as may be possible, within that period, from Sierra Leone, or other ports on the coast of Africa, to Jamaica, Guiana, and Trinidad. Those colonies, as explained in my despatch of the 6th instant, to the Governor of Sierra Leone, have been selected for receiving the emigrants in question, not on account of their superior wealth and magnitude, but because provision appears to have been made in them for immigration purposes to an amount sufficient to insure the British Treasury being indemnified against the expense thus to be incurred, and Her Majesty's Government have proceeded at once to put the plan in execution, in the confident expectation that further provision will be made, should it be necessary for that purpose, by the respective local legislatures. But although for one year, and as an

experiment, Her Majesty's Government are willing to embark in this undertaking on these terms, it is obvious that, if similar undertakings are to be carried on in future years, it will be necessary that the colonies to which the ships are to be destined should make due legal provision for paying the charge. It is almost superfluous to add, that the service will be rendered without partiality or preference to any colony or group of colonies, but with equal readiness to all which may be disposed to make pecuniary provision for the purpose; and the arrangement which necessarily must be first determined is the mode in which such provision is to be made.

In any law appropriating money to meet the charge of the introduction of emigrants by Her Majesty's Government, it will be especially necessary that the funds to be set apart for that purpose should not only be adequate in amount, but payable on demand. It must be in the power of the Governor of each colony to issue the money, as soon as it becomes due, by his own warrant on the Colonial Treasury, without requiring the concurrence of the Council, or of Commissioners of Public Accounts, or of any similar body. The charge must be fixed as a prior and preferable charge upon the surest and most fertile sources of the local revenue, and the payment must be secured, not by a mere vote or pledge that the money shall be forthcoming, but by an actual setting apart of that money to answer the demand. The expense of delegates, and all other incidental expenses, will of course form charges upon the general emigration funds.

If any funds should be voted for the payment of bounties to private persons importing emigrants, that must be an entirely distinct vote, and the payment of it must be postponed to the payment of the vote to be taken on account of the Government emigration.

I prescribe these conditions thus distinctly, and without any qualification, because, on the strict observance of them, the carrying into effect of the project must inevitably depend; and it is, therefore, for the interest of the colonies themselves that they should be understood and fulfilled with the utmost possible precision.

This preliminary consideration being thus disposed of, it remains that I should state what are the further conditions for which Her Majesty's Government must stipulate, and in which the concurrence of the local legislatures is indispensable. These conditions may, indeed, all be summed up in the one general statement, that due provision must be made by law for the proper collection of the emigrants in Africa, for their proper reception in the West Indies, for their proper treatment there, and for their return, if they wish it, at the end of five years from the time of their landing, free of expense to themselves, or sooner, with an amount of aid towards the cost of the passage proportioned to the time they have been in the colony; they being free to return whenever they please.

I am, of course, perfectly aware of the laws which have already been passed for this purpose. They have most of them been approved by Her Majesty's Government, and confirmed by the Queen in Council. It is needless, therefore, for me to say that this body of laws is, on the whole, in a satisfactory state.

But the laws to which I have referred were enacted with a view to an emigration conducted by private persons for bounty, and had no reference to such a plan as that which is now in progress, more especially as regards the necessary provision for securing to immigrants a return passage. The existing laws also did not contemplate such a case as that of the Kroomen—persons emigrating, not with a view to a change of domicile, but in quest of temporary employment, and, therefore, unaccompanied by women or children. Finally, the laws in question are marked by the differences inseparable from the circumstance that each of them has had a different origin. Absolute uniformity may be impracticable; but it is desirable that the existing distinctions should, as far as possible, disappear, because to whatever extent the business is undertaken by the Government, it is fit that they should act on one uniform system, and that any statements made to the emigrants should be true alike of all the colonies competing for their services. It would be hopeless to make them understand the nice distinctions of the laws of different colonies before their departure, although such distinctions would materially affect their welfare afterwards.

If there were any legislative body competent both in law and in fact to promulgate a law on this subject applying to all the British colonies, there would be an obvious convenience in resorting to such a single authority. I need not, however, add that it does not exist.

The laws to be made must be as many as the colonies in which they are to be in force, and for obvious reasons they must in all be of local origin. Hence variations are of course inevitable. It is an inconvenience which can at best be mitigated only. With a view to the mitigation of it, I enclose a minute containing what ought, in my opinion, to be the general effect of the local law of each colony on this subject, together with a draft which has been submitted to me, embodying the suggestions it contains in a more formal shape.

This draft may not be applicable, in particular parts, to the case of the colony under your government, but to a certain extent, when taken in connection with the minute, it may serve as a model, by conforming to which the actual variations of the existing laws may be greatly diminished. There would not exist in several colonies the necessity for an entirely new code on the subject. In some the amendment of the existing laws (though in form probably a re-enactment, with the amendments embodied, will be the most convenient course) would be all that could be required to bring them into conformity with the general plan which I have sketched out.

In the case of Trinidad it has been found necessary to obviate by an order of the Queen in Council, the impediment which would otherwise have arisen to the amendment by the local legislature of laws already amended as well as confirmed by the royal authority.

The noble Lord, after stating that the Governors of the West India colonies receiving immigrants, are expected to communicate information as to rates of wages, and on other points, to the Governors of British possessions whence emigrants are expected to proceed; and impressing upon them the necessity of satisfying themselves that such information is accurate, concludes his despatch in the following terms:—"Finally, I must request you to watch narrowly the working of both systems of emigration, and to report to me fully at quarterly intervals, not only the numbers received,

the expense incurred under each, and the amount still available for immigration purposes at your disposal, or devoted to meet claims under the bounty system; but also any circumstances connected with the subject which appear to you deserving of notice."

The minute and draft referred to in the latter part of Lord Stanley's communication are necessarily postponed. They involve a great principle, uniformity of legislation, to which we shall hereafter venture particularly to refer.

#### EARTHQUAKE IN THE WEST INDIES.

The day subsequent to the publication of our last *Reporter* brought the melancholy intelligence that several of the British West India Colonies had been visited by a fearful and desolating earthquake. The islands which appear to have suffered most are St. Kitt's, Montserrat, Nevis, and Antigua. St. Kitt's is represented to have been very sadly injured, many of the largest houses in atoms, and the streets choked with ruins; the sugar works destroyed, the church, the jail, and other large buildings, so extensively damaged as to be unfit for use: it is consolatory, however, to know that only one life has been lost. In Montserrat, there has been the like destruction of sugar-works on the estates, and of several of the large houses in town; six lives, we regret to say, are reported to have been lost. In Nevis, the destruction is reported to have been terrible; the court house, the custom house, and other large establishments in ruins; others must be taken down. Happily no lives lost, but all the mills much damaged or shattered to pieces. In Antigua, one-fourth of the houses in the city of St. John are represented to be levelled with the ground, and the majority irretrievably ruined. The cathedral totally destroyed, and other places of public worship within the city extensively damaged. The court house much injured; the jail, the house of correction, the lunatic asylum, the barracks, masses of ruins. In the country parishes, out of fourteen places of public worship belonging to the Church of England, only four remain slightly injured; seven have been levelled with the ground, the remaining three are nearly destroyed. Out of nine Wesleyan meeting houses, only one has escaped without serious damage. The Moravian churches are, it is feared, in no better state; one is known to have been entirely destroyed. The cantonment for the troops partially overthrown, and the Governor's house at Dow's Hill completely in ruins, under which the whole of his furniture, plate, and every article of his private and personal property, in the island, lies buried. The dockyard is also stated to be damaged to a serious extent. The loss of private property throughout the island is reported to be incalculable; scarcely a mill remains sufficiently uninjured to be capable of grinding the crop, now nearly ready for the harvest, and the most promising that has been known for years. The boiling houses are in the same state; and every planter's house and labourer's cottage that had been seen was either totally ruined or uninhabitable. It is represented that seven lives have been lost, chiefly aged persons and children. Other colonies appear also to have felt the shock, such as British Guiana, Trinidad, Barbadoes, St. Lucia, Dominica, and Tortola, the Danish Island of St. Thomas, and the Dutch colonies of Saba and St. Eustatius, several of which have suffered in a greater or less degree.

Under an event so sudden and calamitous as that which we have briefly recorded, it is matter for devout gratitude, that although the loss of property has been great, the loss of life has been small; that the colonists generally bear up with resignation under this visitation of Divine Providence; and that the orderly and considerate conduct of the labouring population, so far as it has hitherto been reported, is beyond all praise.

But desolating as have been the effects of the earthquake in the British islands, it appears to have spent its chief fury on the French colony of Guadalupe. There the loss of life and property has been immense. Point-à-Pitre is entirely destroyed. What was spared by the earthquake perished afterwards by fire. The town of Moule has been also destroyed; and the small towns, St. Francois, St. Anne, Port Louis, Bertrand, and St. Rose have been overturned. At Basse-Terre, several buildings have fallen down, and a number of houses are so injured as to be no longer inhabitable. Joinville has suffered much, and Petit-Bourg is destroyed. The sugar-crop, it is feared, will be lost, for the mills are all ruined. The number of lives supposed to be lost is upwards of two thousand; the number of maimed and wounded at least fifteen hundred. It is impossible, however, to ascertain at the present moment how many have suffered by this awful catastrophe, amongst whom, it is said, are the *élite* of the inhabitants of Pointe-à-Pitre. In the midst of these dreadful circumstances, it appears that famine stares the inhabitants in the face; but we sincerely trust that the supplies which have been forwarded from Martinique, and especially from France by the promptitude of the Government, will reach the island in time to prevent this fearful aggravation of their sorrows. We cannot conclude this brief account of a deeply-afflictive dispensation, without the expression of an earnest hope that it may lead the people who have been the subjects of it to "consider their ways;" "to seek judgment," and "let the oppressed go free."

#### LETTERS FROM TRINIDAD.—No. II.

TO JOHN SCOBLE, ESQ., &c. &c.

Trinidad, Feb. 9, 1843.

SIR,—My former letter led you to look for a few observations from me on the evidence of Mr. Burnley before the Committee of the House of Commons. I shall attempt to offer them, feeling it to be an imperative

duty resting on some person, and if so, on me, to contrast that evidence with truth. I should not attempt this for the mere purpose of casting a shade upon what that gentleman stated on the occasion referred to, were not the interests of a large and defenceless class of persons thereby injured. Although my comments may not be attended with any good results for them, they may nevertheless not be entirely worthless.

I think it is pretty evident to every one who has at all watched the movements of the planting body in this and other colonies, that they seek their salvation from the difficulties of which they complain, at the expense of the emancipated labourers, rather than by carrying out improvements, for which there is ample scope. Could they, by stocking the labour market, at the public expense, reduce wages to something like the slavery tariff, their condition would be, beyond all question, more easy than during slavery. It is at this they aim. Were there no sufferers by their prosperity, one would rejoice; but it must not be concealed, that unless the labouring population of these islands bear but a fair proportion to the extent of cultivation, their duties will be great. But to Mr. Burnley. He wished to make the impression on the Committee, that because the people could so easily procure landed property, they were not disposed to labour for wages in the sugar estates. The ninth resolution adopted by the above Committee, "That the cheapness of land has been the main cause of the difficulties which have been experienced; and that this cheapness is the natural result of the excess of fertile land beyond the wants of the existing population," shows very clearly to what an extent that impression has been made.

Now with regard to Trinidad, nothing can be more incorrect. It is true we have land in abundance, but none for the labourer, except he be prepared to purchase of Crown land, an immense tract beyond his means; or of private parties, such a small patch as will just suffice to fix him in the locality, at the most exorbitant charges. When Mr. Burnley stated that land might be had in Trinidad for 9s. 4d. per acre, with the intention of proving to the Committee how easily it might be acquired by the labouring population, he stated what no person in the island can procure. The evidence furnished himself as Chairman of the Trinidad Immigration Society, talks of 216*l.* sterling, and even of 400*l.* sterling an acre, or at the above rates. Mr. Huggins sold for the former price, not near a town, as stated by Mr. B., but in a wild distant part of the country. The Crown some time since sold an acre of land for religious purposes at 10*l.* sterling, and that was considered a favour. Every thing that could be done has been tried to prevent the emancipated from acquiring landed property. This Mr. B. confessed, when he said it was the universal wish of the planters, that the Crown should not dispose of land to the people, that they might be obliged to purchase from proprietors. Nor did he by this mean, that the latter would meet the wishes of the people disposed to purchase, although that was certainly the impression he wished to leave on the minds of the Committee, but that, if the Crown refused to meet the wishes of the people in this respect, as the planters were determined to do, except at enormous rates, for small lots, which could prove of no benefit to the purchasers, the people would be compelled to labour on estates. Such being the policy of Mr. B., how wrong was it for him to inform the people in America, when there, encouraging emigration from that country, that they might purchase land at two dollars and a half per acre, or to inform the Committee of the House of Commons that it may be had for 9s. 4d. The fact of the matter is this, that the people have no means of honourable egress from the estates in Trinidad. Squatting is the only resource they possess, if they would cultivate for themselves, and even this is shortly to terminate. Let but the Crown land be placed within the reach of industrious labourers at the terms named by Mr. Burnley, and in such small lots—say twenty or thirty acres—as will meet their capital and strength, and no labourer can justly complain of distress. I earnestly hope this last sentence may meet the eye and strike the attention of the Secretary for the Colonies. Trinidad must prosper, in the true sense of the word, if that be the case, while to hedge the people into the cane piece, as during slavery, will produce the worst evils of that nefarious system. But Mr. B. would represent the labouring people as indulging in all the luxuries of refined life, while their earnings, owing to their idle habits, are next to nothing. His inconsistency here is abundantly manifest; but I notice it not so much to draw your attention to it, fully persuaded it has not escaped you, as to assure you that it is not real prosperity or domestic comfort that exists among the negroes. Their homes, though much improved since freedom, are nevertheless characterized by any appearance rather than that of abundance; indeed, our poorest peasants in England enjoy more domestic comfort, and use more of good food, than I have ever witnessed in the house of a negro. In nine cases out of ten they present bare walls, within which comfort would seem to be a stranger. What luxury is salt fish, and a little rice or plantain? It is true, if we judge by their dresses—by the appearance they make in public—we should form a different conclusion. But it must be remembered that the light clothing they wear may be had cheap, while they present a clean appearance to the eye of the beholder. If they foolishly spend their little means in trumpery dress, instead of securing for themselves domestic and substantial comforts, of which they are now destitute, it does not follow that their means should be entirely removed, and they reduced to the allowance of slavery—that is, according to Mr. Burnley, one dollar a-week. They are more to be pitied than to be blamed, and efforts should rather be made for their moral and physical improvement, that they might turn their lawfully-acquired means to laudable purposes, than visit their weakness with such a punishment as to subject them to a second system of slavery. Were the thousands sterling annually sent out of this colony, for emigration purposes, spent in the moral and religious improvement of the people already in it, Trinidad would very soon present an altered appearance.

Another statement of Mr. B., to which I beg to draw your attention, is the following:—"That the planters of Trinidad, feeling their safety under emancipation depended so much upon improving the morals and education of the negroes, that, in many instances, they pay half the expense of schools, and the Colonial Government the other half." This would speak well for the Christian and philanthropic feelings of the Trinidad planters, if it were true; and on the island there is not one that would more readily bear testimony to the fact, if a fact, than the writer. I shall not say that a single instance of the above kind does not exist; as, in some

corner where I have not penetrated, a planter's school may be in operation. No individual on the island has had a better opportunity than myself of becoming acquainted with such cases; and I must say that I have never seen nor heard of a school established on the support stated by Mr. Burnley. I have even inquired of persons likely to know of such, if really existing; and have not met one individual who is acquainted with one such school. I think I may safely say, on the strength of my own knowledge and that of others, that one school established and half supported by the planters does not exist in Trinidad. I feel it to be my duty to meet this assertion of Burnley with these remarks. I have never experienced such a disposition on the part of the planters of Trinidad, though occasionally they have rendered some slight assistance in other ways. But generally speaking, taking them as a body, they are entirely dead and indifferent in reference to the moral improvement of the people. In proof of this, I beg to refer you to the evidence of the "Trinidad Immigration Society," taken by Mr. Burnley; and in all that was said in reference to the improvement of the planter's interests, not a syllable was uttered on the subject of instruction. The only suggestion on the subject emanated from Mr. Maxwell, who would distribute the newly-imported Africans among the dissipated emancipated colonists. What arrant hypocrisy is it for them to pretend such a deep anxiety for the improvement of the labouring population, when very few efforts have been made by them for that object. When asked, if there were no missionaries on the island, when taking evidence in Trinidad, who could have appeared before him for that purpose, he flatly stated, he knew of none!

What, had not the Wesleyan Society three, and were there not two missionaries from Scotland? Was not one of the latter located but a short distance from the estate of Mr. B., Orange Grove? And is it possible he knew nothing of them? I will not of course pretend to say he did, as he was absent from the island the greater part of seven years, though he appears before the Committee to enlighten them on subjects connected with it; but it appears to me very remarkable if such were really the case. He seems, however, to have been aware of the presence of a Scotch clergyman in Port of Spain, the Rev. Alexander Kennedy, I presume; but why, it may be asked, did he not solicit the evidence of that gentleman? I will answer, it would not suit his purpose. The ignorance of the presence of missionaries in the island answered his purpose admirably, and Mr. Bush was in the same blissful ignorance, though he had very liberally aided one of them with money some short time before for the use of his mission. They were, however, not aware of any being in the colony. Of Mico teachers, Mr. Burnley knew there were some, but seemed to disregard them all but one, the principal, for whom he enquired, but found him "off the island." Than this, nothing could be more opposed to truth. As the writer happens to know the individual referred to, he can speak most confidently on this point. I do not affirm that it was designedly so; all I mean to say is this, that he was then on the island; that he took the liberty of addressing a letter to the Hon. W. Burnley, as chairman of the "Trinidad Immigration Committee," respecting a portion of evidence given before him, which did not appear, as reported in one of the Trinidad papers, to be correctly stated; and that that letter was acknowledged, at the request of Mr. B., by the secretary of the above Society. I shall not, however, press this further. I hope my motives in forwarding these observations will not be misunderstood. As a duty to all in search of truth at home, and to those concerned in this colony, I beg to lay this before you. In conclusion, I would just remark, that Mr. Burnley's suggestion to reappoint the Commandants of Quarters in Trinidad, and expect of them the duties they originally had to perform under slavery, would, if carried out, deprive the labourer of the liberty of which he has been but a short time in possession. Were this liberty infringed, and his wages reduced to meet the views of Mr. Burnley, the labourer would not be many removes from bondage. Lord Stanley's idea of giving the labourer an *interest* in the soil, is the only sure way of improving him and the colony generally. Had a commission of inquiry been appointed to take evidence *in the colonies*, instead of at home, the Colonial Secretary would have arrived much more surely at the truth.

I remain, &c.,

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#### ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN URUGUAY.

HAD the decree for the abolition of slavery in the republic of Uruguay been promulgated under happier circumstances, and as an act of justice to a long oppressed race, we should have hailed it with delight; but, resulting as it evidently does from the exigencies of the state, and fettered as it is with conditions scarcely less onerous, to those who are the subjects of it, than slavery itself, we confess our satisfaction at what has taken place is not unmixed with apprehension that, as soon as the alarms inspired by the name and the victories of Rosas, the Buenos Ayrian chief, which now prevail at Monte Video, shall have subsided, the unhappy negro will derive but little benefit from the decree of emancipation.

It is well known to those who have watched the progress of this republic, that in defiance of its own fundamental laws, and its solemn engagements to this country, a slave-trade has been carried on, with the sanction of its chiefs, for many years past. Under the name of "Colonists," native Africans have been introduced into Uruguay, and thence, it is believed, transported to Buenos Ayres, Brazil, and the provinces of La Plata, for sale. The British Government has remonstrated against these nefarious transactions, and scruples not to seize any vessels under Monte Videan colours so engaged, and to prosecute them to condemnation before the proper courts.

It will be observed that, by the decree of emancipation, the whole of the able-bodied negroes are constituted soldiers; and that the women, aged persons, and children, are to be subjected to the laws which relate to "colonists," who are held for a long period of years as the bondsmen of their masters.

The Senate and Chamber of Representatives of the Oriental Republic of the Uruguay, united in General Assembly, considering—

That since the year 1814 those born in the territory of the republic should not be reputed slaves;

That since July of 1830 there should not have been any slaves brought into it;

That amongst those who exist, therefore, with this denomination, there are very few of either sex who should be considered as such, and these have in part compensated their value by the services they have rendered;

That in no case is the recognition more urgent of the rights which these individuals hold by nature, by the constitution, and by the enlightened opinions of the present age, than in the actual circumstances in which the Republic requires free men to defend the liberties and the independence of the nation; decree:

Art. 1. From and after the promulgation of the present resolution, there are no longer any slaves in the whole territory of the Republic.

Art. 2. The Government will appoint the able-bodied men who have been slaves, colonists, or wards, whatever may be their denomination, to the service of arms, for such time as it shall consider necessary.

Art. 3. Those who are unfit for military service, and women, shall remain as pupils in the service of their masters, subject for the present to the constitutional law in regard to pupils or African colonists.

Art. 4. Those rights which may be considered to be prejudiced by the present resolution shall be indemnified by posterior laws.

Art. 6. To be communicated to the Executive Government for its fulfilment. (Signed) MANUEL B. BUSTAMIENTE, Second Vice-President.

JUAN ANTONIO LAVANDERA, Secretary.

Hall of Sessions, Monte Video, Dec. 12, 1842.

The following remarks, copied from the *Morning Herald* of the 14th instant, will show what has transpired at Monte Video subsequently to the passing of the decree:—

"The Monte Video papers state that the day after the publication of the decree of the legislature for the total abolition of slavery throughout the territory of the republic, the Government received notes from each of the four foreign residents. The first opened was from the British Pro-Consul-General, and contained expressions of congratulation and approbation on occasion of the measure. But the other three notes, being from the Brazilian Chargé d'affaires, the Consul-General of Portugal, and the Consul of France, one and all were *formal protests against the measure*. Why the French Consul should have gratuitously lent himself to such a proceeding, seeing that his country has no slave colony within thousands of miles of Monte Video, and therefore could in no respect be prejudiced or inconvenienced by the measure, can only be accounted for from the mercenary desire to curry favour with Brazil, and promote the ascendancy of French interests and alliance there, at the expense of national honour and in contempt of the so-often-reiterated denunciations of the slave trade, and the well known resolve to abolish slavery in its colonies by the French Government. The protest of the Brazilian Chargé d'affaires was perhaps natural enough, seeing that Brazil, a slave country, confines upon the republic of Monte Video, and consequently that the abolition of slavery in the latter was calculated to create a ferment among the slave population of the former, or lead to Monte Video becoming a receptacle for runaway Brazilian slaves. The Portuguese functionary would of course co-operate with his Brazilian contemporary, as both the representatives of states of the same blood and origin. Nefarious attempts were challenged, which is more extraordinary and more worthy of reprobation still, of attempts to evade the execution of this law for the abolition of slavery, by forcibly embarking the slaves on board foreign ships in the harbour, with the intention of carrying them off as slaves into other parts, perhaps of selling them into slavery in Brazil. The Government of Monte Video are said to have made a formal communication on the subject to the British Pro-Consul-General, who, it was hoped, would thus be enabled to frustrate this scandalous conspiracy to violate the laws. It would seem to have been suspected that the Brazilian functionary would be found conniving at, if not actively engaged in, the promotion of the fraud."

#### NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum.

#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of letters from Salem (Madras) respecting slavery in Trichinopoly, &c.; Patna, (Bengal,) on the existence of slavery in that district; and from St. Lucia and Trinidad, on the state of these islands, for which we are much obliged.

We have also been honoured with a public letter from the Hon. Mr. Burnley, of Trinidad, commenting with severity on the course we have felt it our duty to pursue in reference to the bondage ordinance, squatting, &c., which it is our intention to notice at some length in our next Reporter.

#### The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MARCH 22, 1843.

In our last Number we gave a short account of a recent interview which a deputation from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had had with the Right Hon. the Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci, President of the Board of Control, on the abolition of slavery in British India. The Memorial, which our space would not then allow us to insert, we now give for the information of our readers:—

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD FITZGERALD AND VESCI, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF CONTROL, &c. &c.

MY LORD.—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, deeply interested in the liberty and welfare of

every class of their fellow-subjects, venture to lay before your Lordship their matured sentiments on the subject of slavery in British India, and on the necessity which exists for its immediate and entire abolition; and respectfully to invite your Lordship's powerful co-operation in the accomplishment of this great object.

That slavery exists to an immense extent in British India; that it presents itself under different forms of greater or less atrocity; that it is found in the predial as well as the domestic form; and that the supply of its victims is obtained by methods the most revolting and barbarous, are incontestable facts;—and that it is sanctioned by the Mohammedan and Hindoo laws, and by British regulations,—whatever difference of opinion may be entertained by British functionaries as to their administration,—is quite clear. On these grounds, the necessity for legislation to effect its complete extinction is evident.

After maturely weighing the facts of the case, and being thoroughly convinced of the safety of emancipation, the Government of 1833 resolved that the state of slavery should cease throughout British India on the twelfth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, or previously to that period if it were possible. This resolution was embodied in a clause of the Charter Bill submitted to both Houses of Parliament; but, unhappily for the interests of humanity and of justice, it was not allowed to become law. A clause was substituted for it, to the effect that the Governor-General in Council should forthwith take into consideration the means of mitigating the state of slavery, and of ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and of extinguishing slavery so soon as such extinction shall be practicable and safe; leaving the time when it should be finally abolished indefinite.

Several years were allowed to pass away by the authorities in England and in India before any steps were taken with a view to give effect to the decision of the Imperial Legislature; when the whole subject was put into the hands of the Indian Law Commissioners to examine, and report such regulations as they might judge necessary for that purpose.

Their Report has been laid before Parliament; but so wide is the difference of opinion amongst these gentlemen as to the nature of the measures they should recommend; so opposite are the views they entertain of the propositions submitted to them; and so various and so conflicting the reasons they give in explanation and defence of the respective plans they suggest, that little progress has been made by the reference of this important subject to them.

The same general remark is applicable to the conclusions of the Supreme Council of India, no two of whom take the same view of the subject; and consequently no draft of laws or regulations, founded on a common opinion, have been, in accordance with the requirements of the 88th clause of the Indian Charter Act, as yet submitted for the consideration and adoption of the Parliament and Government of this country.

The minority of the Law Commissioners recommend, *inter alia*, that assaults inflicted on slaves shall be punishable in the same way as if they were freemen, and that no rights arising out of slavery shall be enforced by a magistrate. The majority of the Commissioners are decidedly opposed to such regulations, which they conceive to be tantamount to the abolition of slavery without compensation.

The late Governor-General, Lord Auckland, was prepared to pass a law declaring that any act, which would be an offence if done to a freeman, shall be equally an offence if done to a slave; and that no rights, claimed as arising out of an alleged state of slavery, shall be enforced by a magistrate. Beyond this, his Lordship was not prepared to go. In this view he is opposed, but for different reasons, by Messrs. Prinsep, Amos, and Bird, members of the Supreme Council. Mr. Prinsep would avoid legislating upon the subject of slavery in India, and would leave it to the courts and authorities, in full confidence that they have the desire, and the disposition, and the means to bring about an entire abolition as fast as circumstances will allow. Mr. Amos would not intrust the judicial authorities with such power, believing it to be a great evil; neither would he consent to the proposition of the Governor-General, inasmuch as he thinks it amounts to uncompensated abolition; but he would not abstain altogether from legislation, with Mr. Prinsep, because he deprecates making use of the bias of the Courts as a means of undermining slavery, and because he thinks the administration of justice in matters of slavery requires to be made more uniform and certain, and that more good than mischief may be produced by making provisions for restraining the abuses of slavery, and for facilitating emancipation. Mr. Bird, after rejecting the recommendations of the Indian Law Commissioners, whether of the minority or the majority, conceives that the evils of which slavery is the cause are so serious, and so prejudicial to the general welfare of the community at large, that we should neglect no means that hold out any hopes of assisting to put a stop to it. He observes that slavery is one of the principal incentives to kidnapping, child-stealing, the sale and purchase of children, male or female, the murder of parents for the sake of their children, and that it leads to prostitution in the vilest forms and all the revolting practices connected therewith, and, therefore, that were the entire extinction of slavery as a state in any way recognised by our laws, to be authoritatively declared, much would be done towards diminishing the perpetuation of these enormities. Such a declaration, he thinks, might be made without the slightest difficulty, and would put an end to the inconveniences and embarrassments which are everywhere felt from there being no uniform rule on the subject; and from the law being one thing and the practice

of the civil and criminal courts another, in almost every district. This plan is preferred by Mr. Amos to that of the Governor-General, inasmuch as it would avoid many nominal and perhaps real inconsistencies, which the proposed act of the noble lord would create.

In the propriety and necessity of Mr. Bird's views, the Committee most fully and cordially acquiesce, believing them to be both safe and practicable in their application, and indeed the only effectual way of putting an end to those frightful crimes to which slavery in British India has given rise.

The Committee earnestly deprecate any measure short of this, believing that, so far from removing, it would increase the difficulties which may be supposed to surround the definitive adjustment of the question. It is proposed to postpone this grand and necessary act until some future period, when it is thought it can be carried into effect with greater safety; but when that period is to arrive has not been stated. This, to use the language of Mr. Bird, "this is exactly the course which was pursued with regard to the practice of *suttee*; certain detailed rules and regulations were passed with a view to restrict within the narrowest possible bounds the performance of that rite, but which were found on trial to be attended with the exact contrary effect; and we were obliged to do at last what might have been done twenty years sooner with equal facility. In like manner, the restrictions now recommended to be imposed on slavery, by the Law Commissioners, would legalize and confirm it to the extent allowed, and render its ultimate extinction not only remote, but a matter of much greater difficulty than at present."

The Committee would observe, that at the time this important opinion was given, India was in arms against Afghanistan and China, when, if at any time, danger from the measure might have been anticipated. Peace has now been established, and the Executive can give its immediate attention to the object. Nor would they omit to remark that the natives of India, Mohammedan and Hindoo, are waiting the final decision of the British Government on the question. They have long known that the doom of slavery in India is sealed, nor have they in any instance complained of the decision, or protested against it.

As the subject has now been placed in the hands of her Majesty's Government, the Committee trust that, true to those great principles of the British Constitution, which have for their object the protection of the liberties, the properties, and the lives of British subjects; true to the generous philanthropy and religious impulses of the nation; true to the high commands and pure spirit of Christianity, they will consummate the great work which devolves on them by giving immediate and entire freedom to the millions now enslaved in British India.

To your Lordship, as President of the Board of Control, the Committee would look for the exertion of the high influence of your office in support of their views, and in promoting a measure so full of humanity and justice, so fraught with blessings to a long despised and oppressed race, and so well calculated to shed a lustre on the Government and people of this country.

On behalf of the Committee,

I have the honour to be, &c.,  
JOHN SCOBLE, *Secretary.*

27, New Broad-street, February 8, 1843.

Since the presentation of the Memorial, the Indian mail has brought the important intelligence, that the Governor in Council has promulgated for general information the draft of "An Act for declaring and amending the Law regarding the condition of Slavery within the Territories of the East India Company," which it is expected will become law on the 6th April next. It would of course be premature to give a decided opinion upon the Act until it be finally passed, as we have reason to know that certain gentlemen in the direction of the East India Company, availing themselves of their privilege, have done what they could to thwart the just and benevolent intentions of the Government. In the meanwhile, we hope for the best, and trust that the glorious measure contemplated will not be impaired in its principles or its efficiency by any class of men either in England or in India. The following is the draft of the Act referred to:—

**AN ACT FOR DECLARING AND AMENDING THE LAW REGARDING THE CONDITION OF SLAVERY WITHIN THE TERRITORIES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.**

1. It is hereby enacted and declared, that no public officer shall, in execution of any decree or order of court, or for the enforcement of any demand of rent or revenue, sell or cause to be sold any person, or the right to the compulsory labour or services of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery.

2. And it is hereby declared and enacted, that no rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another as a slave shall be enforced by any civil or criminal court or magistrate within the territories of the East India Company.

3. And it is hereby declared and enacted, that no person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property, or prevented from taking possession thereof, on the ground that such person, or that the person from whom the property may have been derived, was a slave.

4. And it is hereby enacted, that any act which would be a penal offence if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery.

The abolition of slavery in British India, when it shall be fully and finally accomplished, will be one of the greatest events

of modern history. Millions, by that act, will be emancipated from a bondage which reckons its existence by centuries; millions will be born free, who otherwise would have followed the degraded condition of their parents; and millions more, born free, will be prevented from becoming slaves by sale and purchase, to perpetuate that system of cruelty and sin. Kidnapping by the wandering Brinjarry and the Megpunnah Thug will then find no scope for its diabolical arts and atrocious murders; whilst a host of other evils, as disgusting for their impurity as they are hateful for their impiety, will rapidly disappear. The Christian missionary can then be brought into contact with the most miserable, debased, and helpless of our race, and the holy and benign religion which he teaches win for itself new triumphs from among the heathen.

Entertaining these views and indulging these hopes, we cannot but rejoice that the British Government has at length dissolved its connexion with Indian slavery, and by a series of regulations, as wise as they are just, laid the foundation for its complete overthrow. In the language of the *Morning Herald* of the 18th inst., when speaking of the draft of the "Act for declaring and amending the Law regarding the condition of Slavery within the Territories of the East India Company," we generally agree, and trust that such subsidiary measures may be passed as shall give full effect to the decisions of Government, and render it, what our contemporary represents it to be, "An Act for the complete and immediate abolition of slavery throughout British India." He says:—"The measure is not yet law, but it has been prepared by the authorities, published in the official *Gazette*, and will be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council in April next. We may almost regard it, then, as law, for such it is certain to become. It does not, it will be observed, formally abolish slavery; its language is, indeed, occasionally almost an inferential denial of the legal existence of slavery; the first clause speaking of 'the right to compulsory labour or services of any person on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery'; and the second referring to slavery as 'alleged property in the person of another as a slave.' The Act, however, strikes a death-blow at slavery, for it prohibits all courts, civil or criminal, and all magistrates, from recognizing any right arising out of *alleged* property in a fellow-creature as a slave; it forbids them to uphold slavery in any form, by giving every man a right to whatever property he may acquire by his own labour or by inheritance, and by attaching the same penalty to every act done against a man deemed a slave with which the act would be visited if done against a free man; and from the moment of its enactment every man in India now in slavery may walk at once into freedom; if he refuse or hesitate to do so, his servitude is thenceforward perfectly voluntary. The Act neither requires purchase-money for manumission, nor mocks the slave by offers of freedom on untenable conditions; though cautiously penned and prudently entitled, it is nevertheless an act for the complete and immediate abolition of slavery throughout British India."

It is with unmixed satisfaction we observe, that, after having laboured for many years in the sacred cause of human freedom in the East as well as the West Indies, the prevalence, to be followed, we trust, shortly, by the universal triumph of righteous principles, throughout the British empire. The removal of slavery from India will unite all hearts in this country, in advancing the welfare of the entire population of that splendid portion of our dominions. Viewed in this light, it is of immeasurable importance. "The Act," to quote again from the *Morning Herald*, "is not, however, to be merely regarded in the glorious aspect of a mitigation of present misery; it is also to be looked upon as a great beacon in the progress of sound and benevolent principles in the administration of India—as the forerunner of other great schemes of legislative and practical improvement, which shall render our government of India identical with the development of its inimitable resources and the happiness and prosperity of its inhabitants, who are our fellow-subjects. It is scarcely seventy years since British statesmen in India were extending instead of restricting the extent of slavery therein; now they are about to promulgate the Charter of Emancipation."

In the spirit of the following paragraph we fully concur:—"Over so holy and Christian a measure we will raise no shout of party triumph; it is a national act, fulfilling a national wish, and raising the national character; and be its authors who they may, they have our hearty thanks and unbounded congratulations. The share which Lord Auckland's Administration must have had in its preparation we gladly acknowledge and warmly praise; whilst to us, the humble but incessant advocates of peace, its enactment into law will be a brighter jewel in Lord Ellenborough's rule than his emancipation of England from the Afghan war. Britain will shortly be able to exclaim that within her territories 'slaves cannot breathe'; that proud boast will be hers alone amongst the nations of the earth, and it constitutes a thanks offering to Divine Providence for the power and mercies vouchsafed unto us."

In our judgment, however, it is neither to Lord Auckland nor to Lord Ellenborough that the abolition of slavery in British India is to be attributed, but to the Divine blessing on the various agencies which have been faithfully employed in promoting this great end.

The February overland mail from India brought intelligence that a large amount of shipping was about being taken up for the transport of Indian labourers to the Mauritius, and that it had materially affected the rates of freight of homeward-bound vessels. The

Calcutta commercial report shows the advance to be equal to from 15s. to 20s. per ton, and states that "no improvement may be expected at least for the next two months, as most of the expected vessels had arrived, and that transports from China might not be in until the end of February;" and, there are orders, it observes, "for the provision of about 25,000 labourers for the Mauritius, for whose accommodation, according to Government regulations, 50,000 tons are necessary, but whose conveyance may employ at least 80,000 tons of shipping." We confess that we have read this statement with feelings of deep despondency, because we are satisfied that whatever temporary advantages the Mauritian planters may expect to derive from so vast an influx of labourers at the expense of the colony, the most fearful evils will result from it. It should be remembered that this vast multitude of emigrants will be composed almost exclusively of the male sex; that they will carry with them their superstitions, their idolatry, their passions; and that they will leave behind them, in the great majority of cases, their wives and families, to misery, want, and death.

THE slaveholders of the United States gloat over the tenth article of the Washington Treaty with delight. They see in the comprehensive list of crimes, from petty larceny to murder, for which it provides, the means of recovering their fugitive slaves; and though they have some misgivings that certain forms of law will be required to sanction the validity of their claims,—and above all, that the spirit of Englishmen was likely to be roused at the possibility of their regaining their lost prey,—they undoubtedly entertain the conviction that the article may be made subservient to their base ends. Unscrupulous of the means, their object is, to regain their victims at any cost. To make examples of them, to deter others, but above all, to prove that no part of the British dominions is secure to them as an asylum, is their grand aim. To defeat this nefarious design is our duty, or the memorable decision in the case of Somerset may be practically reversed, and the glorious labours of a Sharpe rendered nugatory. We know the men with whom we have to deal, and we assert that they must be met and conquered, or they will inflict a deadly blow on the most sacred principles of British law, as well as on the most precious rights of humanity.

In the official correspondence between Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton, presented to Parliament by Her Majesty's command, on the case of the *Creole*, we deeply regret to perceive a tone of concession, unworthy, we think, of this country. The Foreign Secretary of the United States, with that great ability and subtlety for which he is distinguished, appears to have impressed the British Envoy with the importance of his claims; and what were they? Not that the lawful commerce of the United States, passing through the Bahama channel, should enjoy all the privileges of the laws and comity of nations,—for these have not, and will not be denied; but that we shall respect, within British waters, the peculiar property in men claimed by the Americans. On this point Lord Ashburton, after advertizing to "the delicacy and difficulty of the subject," and to the fact, that "public feeling is sensitively alive to every thing connected with it," gives it as his opinion, in reply to Mr. Webster, "that much may be done to meet the wishes of your Government," by a reference of the case to London. "In the meanwhile," his Lordship says, "I can engage that instructions shall be given to the Governors of Her Majesty's colonies on the Southern borders of the United States, to execute their own laws with careful attention to the wish of their Government to maintain good neighbourhood, and that there shall be no officious interference with American vessels driven by accident or by unlawful violence into those ports." "The laws and duties of hospitality shall be executed, and these seem neither to require nor to justify any further inquisition into the state of persons or things on board of vessels so situated, than may be indispensable to enforce the due observance of the municipal law of the colony, and the proper regulation of its harbours and waters." And as though the noble Lord had not gone far enough, and to prevent the possibility of mistake as to his meaning, he further remarks, "A strict and careful attention to these rules, applied in good faith to all transactions as they arise, will, I hope and believe, without any abandonment of great principles, lead to the avoidance of any excitement or agitation on this very sensitive subject of slavery, and consequently of those irritating feelings which may have a tendency to bring into peril all the great interests connected with the maintenance of peace." Is this the spirit, we ask, in which the extradition article of the Washington Treaty is to be administered? And is "good neighbourhood," that is, reverence for southern slavery, to characterize British functionaries on the Canadian frontier as well as in the Bahama channel? We confess that we are driven to this conclusion by the *Creole* correspondence, and that the danger is even more imminent than we had previously thought it to be. Our friends in the country will do well to exert themselves against any but a strictly *bond fide* use being made of that article.

But we turn from our Treaty with the United States to the Convention, recently negotiated between Great Britain and France, for the mutual extradition of criminals. By the first article of that Convention, the contracting parties agree "to deliver up to justice persons, who being accused of the crimes of murder (comprehending assassination, parricide, infanticide, and poisoning,) or of an attempt to commit murder, or of forgery, or of fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiring party, shall be found within the territories of the other." And by the third article, it is provided, "That the provisions of the present Convention shall not apply in any manner to crimes of

murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed antecedently to the date hereof, viz., the 18th day of February, 1843."

The contrast between this state document, and the Washington Treaty is remarkable. In the one, the crimes for which offenders are to be surrendered, are limited to murder, attempt to commit murder, forgery, and fraudulent bankruptcy; in the other they comprehend murder, or assault with intent to commit murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or the utterance of forged papers! In the former it is expressly stipulated that it shall not be retrospective in its operation—in the latter no such provision exists. Now, the crimes with which fugitive slaves are likely to be chargeable, are those left out of the French Convention, viz.—piracy, for so the United States designate the act of the Creole Negroes, arson, robbery, including the most venial offences, and the *utterance of forged papers*. With the latter, the fugitive slave frequently travels through the slave states as a free man of colour, and without which, if he were seen and did not produce them on demand, he would be incarcerated in prison, and if his master could not be found, a master would be found for him, as he would be sold to pay his jail fees! Such dangerous weapons as Lord Ashburton has put into the hands of the slaveholders must be taken from them, or the free land of England will be desecrated, and her honour soiled.

TOWARDS the latter end of February, Mr. G. W. Alexander, the Treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, made a short tour in some of the midland counties of England, in the course of which he visited both the Gentlemen's and Ladies' Auxiliary Associations in Bath, Bristol, Cirencester, Gloucester, and Worcester, and conferred with them on various subjects of present interest connected with the anti-slavery cause; among which, the tenth article of the Washington Treaty particularly engaged attention; and on this subject but one feeling—that of anxiety, lest by any means it should be used as a means of restoring the unhappy slave to his incensed master—pervaded all parties. At Bath, the Ladies' Committee, which was very numerously attended, entered most heartily into this matter, as did also the Gentlemen's Committee. The latter concluded to forward a petition to Parliament, and also to write to their representatives, begging them to oppose the measure for giving the article referred to the force of law. At Bristol, it was decided to address their representatives upon the subject. At Cirencester, Mr. Alexander was cheered by meeting a very large number of zealous friends, both male and female, of the oppressed slave; and here also it was resolved to address both the town and county members on the subject of the obnoxious article. At Gloucester, a petition to Parliament on the subject, which has since been presented, was resolved on. At Worcester, the conference which Mr. A. had with the members of the Auxiliary Association and other friends of the cause, has since resulted in a large public meeting, at which the Mayor presided, and at which a Petition to Parliament was unanimously adopted, praying that fugitive slaves, except those charged with *wilful murder*, may be specifically excepted from the said clause of the Treaty.

Whilst on this topic, we cannot forbear noticing the lively interest which has been manifested by the friends of the abolition cause generally throughout the country in reference to this important subject. Petitions have been forwarded from Preston, adopted at a public meeting, at which the mayor presided; and from the Anti-Slavery Societies at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Birmingham, Colchester, Hitchin, (two petitions,) Southampton, Norwich, Ross, Hereford, Neath, and from the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society. Besides which, the Committee have had forwarded to them for presentation, petitions from the Leeds and Woodbridge Societies, and from friends at Coalbrook Dale. They have also had intimation that similar petitions are to be presented from Exeter, Aberdeen, and other towns, and they trust that these will be followed by many more, in order that by a strong expression of public disapprobation of the article in question, the Legislature may be induced to take such steps as will render it harmless to those on whose behalf this feeling has been awakened.

### Literary Notice.

*Remarks on the "Ensayo Politico sobre la Isla de Cuba."* Por el Baron A. de Humboldt, &c.

(Continued from page 22.)

THE following is an extract from the "Memoria sobre la esclavitud" of M. Torrentes, in which the alleged results of the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies are advanced as an argument against the performance of the same act of justice in the transatlantic colonies of Spain:—

"Let us take as a sample the island of Jamaica. In 1838, thirteen million pounds of coffee were produced in the island. In 1839, which was the first year of emancipation, the quantity was only eight millions. In 1840 it was five millions; and in the current year (1841) it will not reach three millions, according to information which I have received. In sugar the falling off has been more rapid, since in the last year it has not reached the sixth part of that which was made previous to emancipation. The decrease in rum has been still greater, for instead of a quantity varying from twenty-eight to thirty thousand hogsheads, which were formerly exported every year, hardly three have been exported since emancipation; and losses equally great have taken place in the other islands in which freedom has been conferred. In the present year there have been on sale five plantations, valued at one million two hundred and fifty thousand

dollars, which were offered for one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, without a customer being found for them at this price. Many other plantations have been sold for less than the tenth part of their value, to the great satisfaction of the proprietors, who were determined to part with them, although the loss had been still greater; for besides knowing the impossibility of deriving any advantage from the property, in consequence of the idleness and petulance of the emancipated population, they were influenced by a still more powerful motive, which is the panic existing in the minds of the colonists, who shut themselves up in their houses at eight o'clock in the evening, in order to avoid being assassinated, or at least robbed; and they are influenced, finally, by a motive more powerful than all the rest, which is, the fear that the whole of the white population will have their throats cut; a fear that must not be regarded as unfounded, because it can be executed on any day on which the negroes desire it."

We had intended to have made several extracts from the Memorial of M. Torrentes; but the errors in the statement of facts, and the defects in reasoning, are so numerous and striking, as to render the task of selection difficult, and perhaps unworthy of the pains. We therefore propose to content ourselves with the long quotation which we have made as "a sample" of the whole performance.

We give an official statement of the whole amount of exports from the British West India colonies, on an average of three years prior to the establishment of freedom, and since that event has taken place, which, it will be seen, differs greatly from the representation of M. Torrentes:—

QUANTITY OF PRODUCE IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM THE YEAR 1831 TO 1841, BOTH INCLUSIVE:—

	Population.	Sugar.	Molasses.	Rum.	Coffee.	Cocoa.
	Slaves.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Galls.	lbs.	lbs.
1831	800,000	4,103,800	323,306	7,844,157	20,030,802	1,491,947
1832		3,773,456	553,663	4,713,809	24,673,920	618,215
1833		3,646,205	686,794	5,109,975	19,008,375	2,125,656
	Apprentices.					
1834	769,000	3,843,976	650,366	5,112,400	22,081,490	1,360,325
1835		3,524,209	507,495	5,453,317	14,855,470	439,447
1836		3,601,791	526,535	4,868,158	18,903,426	1,612,304
1837		3,306,775	575,657	4,418,349	15,577,888	1,847,145
	Freemen.					
1838	750,000	3,520,676	638,007	4,641,210	17,588,655	2,149,637
1839		2,824,372	474,307	4,021,820	11,485,675	959,641
1840		2,214,764	424,141	3,780,979	12,797,739	2,374,301
1841		2,151,217	430,221	2,770,161	9,927,689	2,920,298

(Par. Pap. No. 293, 1842, pp. 1, 2.)

For the year ending the 5th January, 1843, the exports of sugar from the British West Indies to Great Britain was 2,473,715 cwt., being an increase on the preceding year of 328,215 cwt.

M. Torrentes has failed to inform his readers that, owing to the increased price of sugar, occasioned by the temporary diminution of supply,—and it would be easy to give reasons for the belief that it is only temporary,—a rise in the price of sugar took place, in consequence of which the sum received by the planters for this article since emancipation has not been less than for the larger crops, obtained by forced labour, during slavery. M. Torrentes has also omitted to state, that the exports to the British West Indies from the mother country, which, during the latter years of slavery, amounted to 2,500,000<sup>l.</sup>, have since reached 3,500,000<sup>l.</sup> and 4,000,000<sup>l.</sup>, a circumstance of no small importance to the British manufacturer.

We must request M. Torrentes, should this paper come under his notice, to favour us with the names of the five estates said to have been offered for sale in Jamaica at so great a reduction in value. We are wholly unacquainted with the depreciation in the value of property which he affirms to have taken place; and must believe, unless it be proved, that it is no less at variance with truth than the representation made of the felicity of the slaves in Cuba, and the statements respecting the decrease in the production of sugar in the British West Indies.

We have not official information with regard to the present value of estates in Jamaica, as compared with the period of slavery; but we could easily show from Parliamentary papers, that land generally has greatly risen in value in that island, as well as in the other colonies, owing principally to the very large number of purchasers, mostly in small lots, among those who were lately slaves. We can, however, adduce evidence, derived from the documents to which we have referred, to prove that in the second sugar colony of Great Britain in the West, which more nearly resembles Cuba than does Jamaica in the unexhausted fertility of its soil, there has been scarcely any decrease, and in some instances an increase, in the value of estates. This, too, has taken place, notwithstanding a drought of great severity has prevailed during some years subsequent to emancipation, which has necessarily occasioned a great decrease in the quantity of sugar raised in British Guiana, the colony to which we have alluded.

The number of estates sold in this colony since the passing of the Abolition Act has been about twenty, for which a sum amounting to nearly 500,000<sup>l.</sup> sterling has been paid. For particulars of the sale of many of these estates, see despatches of Governor Light in Parliamentary papers relative to the West Indies.

The assertion made by M. Torrentes, of the insecurity of property and life apprehended by the colonists in the West Indies, is, if possible, still more false than the other statements which we have refuted. We have not, however, time to expose fully these injuri-

ous allegations. A reference to the Parliamentary papers relative to the West Indies will show that the amount of crime of every description, among the emancipated classes, has been small; and we have not yet heard, that in a single instance have the multiplied and cruel wrongs heaped upon the negroes during the long period of slavery and four years of apprenticeship, led to a single act of violence towards a white man. So far are feelings of insecurity from existing in the colonies, that the troops formerly stationed there have been reduced one half, and the militia has been disbanded, or consists only of a very small force where it is still maintained.

We cannot now dwell upon the various circumstances which have led to the decrease in exports from the British colonies. When, however, it is considered that work can be no longer obtained without distinction of age or sex, and to an extent greatly beyond the physical capability of the labourer, by the infliction or terror of the cart-whip; and that the means and disposition to remunerate labour are by no means so universal as was this dreadful instrument of coercion, we shall not be surprised that some decrease has taken place. On the other hand, we shall derive encouragement from the fact, that so large an amount of tropical articles have been obtained by voluntary labour, notwithstanding a variety of circumstances contributed to lessen their production. Among these, we must notice disputes respecting wages on the commencement of freedom, particularly in Jamaica, where the masters refused to give more than 6d. sterling per diem, whilst 1s. 8d. sterling had been paid for hired labour during slavery and the apprenticeship. This naturally led to a temporary cessation from work. Besides this loss of plantation labour, arising from the avarice and folly of the proprietors or their representatives, a change of employment naturally took place on the part of some heretofore employed exclusively in tropical cultivation, who now found more congenial or profitable employment; mothers of families, in some of the colonies, withdrew extensively from the field, in order to attend to their domestic duties; and, finally,—omitting many other causes of decrease,—a drought of unusual severity occurred in several of the principal British colonies, including Jamaica, British Guiana, and Barbadoes.

Had the result been much less favourable as respects the produce reaped and exported, we should, still, have rejoiced in the fact, that the British nation has performed an act of imperative duty, by which nearly 800,000 of their distant fellow-subjects have been freed from a yoke which rendered life miserable, and in many instances greatly abridged its duration.

It was our intention to have directed particular attention to the important observations of Baron Humboldt, the no less important admissions of the Countess Merlin, and the futility of the objections advanced by the latter writer. We cannot, however, afford a larger space to the subjects of this article. We think that enough has been said to prove the dreadful cruelty of slavery in Cuba, the utter contempt of laws relative to the trade in that island, and the duty and necessity of adopting new and efficient means to prevent the continuance of these great evils. We know but one means which can be relied upon to accomplish objects of such vast importance to humanity, and which are recommended by the solemn obligations of justice and religion. This means consists in the immediate and entire abolition of slavery.

### Parliamentary Intelligence.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MARCH 13.

THE EARTHQUAKE IN THE WEST INDIES.—Mr. MACKINNON, seeing in his place the noble lord the Sec. of State for the Colonies, wished to ask a question of very great importance to the West India interest, and especially to the island of Antigua. By a large meeting which took place on Saturday last he had been requested to make this inquiry, which it was the more necessary to have answered owing to the speedy departure of the West India packet. He desired to know whether or not it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to make the advance of a loan to the individual proprietors in the island of Antigua who had suffered so severely by the late earthquake? and also whether it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to advance a sum of money, not as a loan, but as a grant, for the purpose of re-erecting the town-hall and other public buildings in Antigua, which had been levelled with the dust by the recent catastrophe?

Lord STANLEY said, the hon. gentleman was aware that on Thursday last Government, for the first time, received intimation, but not in any great detail, of the dreadful visitation to which the West India colonies had been subjected. The earthquake to which his hon. friend referred took place on the 8th of February, and the last accounts received were dated the 10th of the same month; consequently, they could have as yet but very imperfect accounts of the extent of distress and loss occasioned by the calamity. At the same time he was afraid he had no reason to hope that the accounts which his hon. friend might have seen in the public papers of this country had at all exaggerated the extent of the disaster which had befallen the islands. Providentially, the loss of life had been small; but he feared he must be compelled to admit that an extremely large amount of damage had been sustained, both with reference to public and private property. For his own part, it was satisfactory to know, that throughout the colonies of Antigua, St. Kitt's, Montserrat, and Nevis, from which accounts had been received, the best possible spirit prevailed among all classes of the population; and that in Antigua, where the distress had been most severe and the damage great, all classes were exerting themselves in the most praiseworthy manner, and co-operating, not only for the prevention of riot and disorder, but in providing such temporary remedies as could be applied to a calamity which was peculiarly aggravated, because falling on the machinery of the colony when the crops were about to be manufactured. (Hear, hear.) He

felt he ought not to omit this opportunity of adding, that in a despatch he had received from the Governor, Sir C. Fitzroy, and which he had the commands of Her Majesty to lay on the table, testimony was borne highly creditable to the labouring population of the islands not only with regard to their abstinence from all plunder and riot, but although material sufferers themselves, all of the most respectable among them had associated together, and bound themselves by a voluntary agreement, notwithstanding the extraordinary demand for labour, not to ask or accept any thing above the ordinary average amount of wages in the colony. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the questions which had been asked, he did not know that he could give any definite answer at the present moment. At the same time, he could feel but little doubt that when the details of the calamity should be received in this country, it would be his duty to ask the House for some assistance, in the way of loan, in order to enable the colony to sustain the heavy calamity with which it had been visited. Of course, with regard both to the amount and the conditions of that loan, it would be premature in him, as it would be impossible now, to make any statement to the House. He would only say, that if any assistance should be asked, it would be not in the shape of a grant but of a loan, to enable the colony to sustain its credit at the present crisis of affairs.

SLAVE-TRADE.—March 17.

On the motion of Sir G. CLERK the House went into committee, when a bounty of 5*l.* was ordered to be paid for every slave captured under the treaties between this country and Bolivia, Uruguay, and Texas. A further resolution was come to, that all of the produce of such captures appertaining to Her Majesty should be divided amongst the captors.

SLAVE-TRADE BOUNTIES.—March 20.

On the order of the day for the report of the Slave-trade Payment of Bounties Bill,

Captain PECHELL wished to know if it was the noble lord's intention to introduce a clause giving to the captors of slave vessels a moiety of the reward in those cases where the captors, by reason of death, &c., were unable to "deliver over," as it was termed, these slaves. He should also like to know if a bounty were to be allowed on the capture of vessels intended for slavers, but which at the time of capture had no slaves on board. He wished to know how it was intended to deal with vessels captured as slavers, whether they were to be tried by a mixed tribunal or by an Admiralty commission.

Sir G. CLERK said, in reply to the question relative to slave vessels, they would be adjudged in conformity with the provisions of the various existing treaties with the powers to which the vessels severally belonged. In reply to the question of the bounty of 2*l.* 10*s.* for slaves not delivered, the present bill would be exactly like the former bills in that respect; and with reference to bounty on tonnage of vessels captured which were intended as slavers, and which had no slaves on board, the 1st and 2nd Vic., c. 47, sufficiently provided for such cases.

The report was then carried.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—PROSPECTS OF THE PLANTERS.—A merchant residing in London, but extensively connected with the trading interest of this island, in writing to his Correspondent, under date of the 2nd ult. says—"The House of Assembly has damaged the West India interest beyond calculation, by the unwise discussion of differential duties on sugar. The Government, I am told, are exceedingly wrath, as it affords the advocates of free trade, a power which they endeavour to use to the prejudice of the Colonies and the Government. Surely the West India Proprietor should not be a party to any measure for opening the market to slave-labour sugar; nothing less than total exclusion should satisfy them. It should not be with them a question of expediency, but consistency. The House of Assembly in Jamaica have weakened the Government in their intentions to protect the Colonies."

The late rains have been of great service, and if followed, as it is generally hoped they will be, by dry weather, the canes will be matured, and in consequence yield well. In that case a large sugar crop may be anticipated.—*Morning Journal, Feb. 4.*

BRITISH GUIANA.—Yesterday morning, the *Dee* came in, with intelligence of the very awful condition of the several islands, English and French, lying in her route. Although the sources of information were unofficial, consisting, principally, in the verbal reports of the intelligent officers of that steamer, and in passages of private letters, the Governor immediately convoked an extraordinary session of the Court of Policy, in which a grant of 1,000*l.* to Antigua and the other islands in the same government, and of 500*l.* to Guadalupe, proposed by non-official members, was unanimously agreed to.—*Guiana Times, Feb. 17.*

TRINIDAD.—On Saturday the ship *Chieftain*, from Sierra Leone, with 127 African immigrants, came to anchor, having made the voyage from this colony and back in ninety days. On her previous trip she brought as many as 248, but could not this time make up her complement without a delay, which would interfere with other arrangements. There is nothing disheartening in this, especially when we compare the result with the fate of two other vessels, both from Jamaica, which were at Sierra Leone shortly previous to the arrival of the *Chieftain*. One lay there three, and the other two months, and then carried back only eight immigrants between them, in exchange for a superior number of delegates, who left the Jamaica vessels with the view of coming to Trinidad, but were refused. Nearly the whole of these immigrants are Kroomen.—*Trinidad Standard, Feb. 13.*

DOMINICA.—The weather has for some weeks been fine for the planters, and the crop had commenced generally throughout the island; "and we have not," says the editor, "heard of or witnessed any wish on the part of the labourer to raise his wages, or to withdraw himself from the estate at the time when his services are greatly required." In the retrospect of the past year, the editor says, "the large and useful class of

our population connected with the soil have, during that period, continued *industrious*, by working either on their own account or for their former owners. Besides this, they have evinced an orderly demeanour and loyal subordination to the laws, which have removed the last vestige of apprehension of any danger ever reverting from unqualified emancipation. With respect to the staple commodities raised during the period under review, it is a gratifying fact that the quantity of sugar shipped, *four thousand hogsheads*, is greater than the quantity of the same important commodity manufactured during any one year since the abolition. This is attributable to the opening of numerous small and scattered spots of ground purchased by the labourers out of their savings, which they have studded with the cane plant, as well as to the prevailing plan of introducing the cane in the grounds allotted them on the estates where they live. The rearing also of cane in many of the squares of former coffee estates ruined by the disastrous blight, has contributed to the increase." We learn, from the same source, that a measure has been proposed for the introduction "from the African continent of 2,000 persons who may be disposed for husbandry."—*Dominican, Jan. 18.*

EFFECTS OF THE LATE EARTHQUAKE.—The damage done to the estates northward of Roseau is thus estimated:—*York Valley* works, 100*l.*; *Picard*, 250*l.*; *Sugar Loaf*, 1,050*l.*; *Londonderry*, 2,000*l.*; *Melville Hall*, 1,550*l.*; *Castle Bruce*, 450*l.*; *Hatton Garden* and *Eden*, not ascertained. What damage may have been done to the buildings on other estates is not mentioned, probably from the particulars not having been received. It is, however, satisfactory, that dilapidated as many of the works are on the estates enumerated, the process of sugar making can be continued. We perceive that a resolution, voting a sum of money from the island treasury to the sufferers at Guadalupe, had been favourably entertained.—*Dominican, February 15.*

ST. VINCENT.—There is likelihood this year of good crops in this colony. "There is great promise of a good crop. The season has latterly been favourable, and the manufacture of sugar has briskly commenced previous to the holidays. Let every one encourage his neighbour cheerfully to persevere in his labour, and let all throw aside the gloomy feelings of despondency which have for some time past damped their ardour and dimmed their hopes. There are two sources from which we may expect the greatest aid in renovating the depressed state of colonial interests; one of these depends on our own efforts, the other on the acts of the Imperial Parliament."—*Observer.*

Miscellanea.

LIBERALITY OF THE NEGROES IN BERBICE.—MR. BARKLY, a planter of Berbice, when examined before the West India Committee, gave it as his opinion, that if persuasion enough were used with the labourers, and if they were positively informed that the colony could no longer support schools and churches for their benefit, they might possibly be induced to contribute something towards their support! Now, we happen to have before us the annual Report of the London Missionary Society for the year 1842; and from that Report it appears, that the labourers of Berbice, besides contributing their quota of taxes towards the support of the established churches, actually contributed during the year 1841, out of their own pockets, towards the support of the chapels, schools, and ministers of the London Missionary Society, no less a sum than *Thirty Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-Seven Dollars!* We doubt whether, during the same year, the whole body of English West India merchants and proprietors, wealthy as they are, voluntarily contributed anything like the same amount for the support of religion or the diffusion of knowledge.—*Guiana Gazette, 8th Dec.*

ANOTHER NEW MATERIAL FOR SUGAR.—It is said to have been accidentally discovered at Algiers, that the fruit of the fig cactus, a plant that grows there in immense quantities, contains such an abundance of saccharine matter, that the heat of the sun is sufficient to crystallise the sugar. General Lamoricière, the commandant of Maskara, has ordered some of the crystallised matter to be collected, which, on a closer investigation, was found to be of remarkable purity and excellence. It has since been calculated that the abundance in which the plant exists, and the low price at which the fruit is sold, would allow sugar to be manufactured from it in large quantities, at about twopence a pound.

If we would know what Slavery is, we must define it. An element, is one thing; a relation, another; an appendage, another. Relations and appendages presuppose other things to which they belong. To regard them as the things themselves, or as the constituent parts of them, leads to endless fallacies. Mere political disabilities are often confounded with Slavery; so are many relations, and tenures, indispensable to the social state. We will specify some of these:—Privation of Suffrage—Ineligibility to Office—Taxation without Representation—Privation of one's oath in law—Privation of trial by jury—Being required to support a particular religion—Apprenticeship—Filial subordination and Parental claims—Claims of Government on Subjects—Bondage for Crime—Restraints upon Freedom, as in the case of children—Involuntary Service, as in the case of Jurymen. Many of the foregoing conditions are appendages of Slavery, but no one, nor all of them together, constitute its intrinsic unchanging element:—ENSLAVING MEN IS REDUCING THEM TO ARTICLES OF PROPERTY.—Making free agents, chattels—Converting persons into things. \* \* \* \* We repeat it, THE REDUCTION OF THEM TO THINGS! Not robbing a man of privileges, but of himself; not restraining liberty, but subverting it; not curtailing rights, but abolishing them; not depriving an animal of immunities, but despoiling a human being of attributes. This is Slavery. The eternal distinction between a person and thing, trampled under foot—the crowning distinction of all others—alike the source, the test, and the measure of their value.—*Weld.*